642, 728, 177, 565

Syria	MD1
Israel	MF1
Jordan	MG1
Iraq	MH1
Lebanon	ME1

/For an account of the political regime, social stratification, and Westernizing of administration under the British and French Mandates following the First World War, see 66: Bonné, M1 Middle East, category 116, pp. 88-101./

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

communities: an influence in which observers found an element of Gallic nationalism accompanied by rancour against non-Catholics and the Powers who might support these. The French missions were ancient and active. Their long-established Carmelites maintained two boys' schools at Baghdad, a press, an orphanage, and a dispensary. At Mosul the Dominican fathers, formerly Italian but French since 1859, maintained their urban and village schools, their dispensaries, their priests' training college, their church, and their prolific and polyglot printing-press; while, from the same Order, the Sisters of the Presentation had maintained their elementary and needle-work schools for girls at Mosul since the eighteen-seventies, and extended their work to Baghdad in 1881. These efforts had gone far to popularize the French language, enrich the culture of the Uniates, and contribute an element of real education to the local world. 'Iraq, in fact, and particularly the Mosul wilaya, formed part of the French sphere of cultural predominance. The missionary work of French Jewry will be mentioned later.

A Consul of the United States had been replaced in 1894 by a Vice-Consul, who resided intermittently in Baghdad; for American interest in 'Iraq was slight. An ambitious archaeological survey was carried out in the 'eighties, followed by a season of excavation; and a branch of the Arabian mission of the Dutch Reformed Church of America was started in the 'nineties with a school, dispensary, and hospital at Basra, with later work also at 'Amara and Nasiriya. The effort met with strong Turkish opposition, which it survived. A number of converts to Protestantism were made from local Christians.

Other nations of Europe pretended at this period to little or no concern in the 'Iraq wilayas. Greek subjects had had recourse until 1897 to the British Resident, Austrian until 1900 to the French Consul. The German Empire had entrusted its slight interests in 'Iraq to Great Britain until 1894, when a German resident in Baghdad was appointed Consul. Late in the century their archaeologists had appeared—Sachau in 1879 and the great Koldewey first in 1889, then from 1898 onwards; but they showed no other concern with the territory until the eastward march of German policy was to raise, at the end of the century, the burning question of the Baghdad Railway. Meanwhile the penetration of Turkey by a mission of German military officers, their railway enterprises in Anatolia, the Kaiser's State visits, the abstention of his Government alone among the Powers from condemnation of the Armenian atrocities, were confirming Germany in the empty place of Great Britain as the leading Western nation in the Ottoman Empire.

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

perhaps a fifth part of the military forces and a tenth of the gendarmerie. But this minority was disproportionately powerful by dint of the authority of Government, and by the contact of its leaders with the ante-rooms of Istanbul and with Turkish culture. It followed that some 'Iraqis, but not many, were thus attracted to the prestige of Turkish circles and all they signified, and, before the day of an Arab nationalism—or even after it—identified themselves with that element. Turkish was everywhere the language of Government, the courts, and the State schools.

3. PERSIAN AND ARABIAN NEIGHBOURS

With their Persian neighbour, Turkey and 'Iraq had a long tradition of discord. If, by the nineteenth century, the days of major aggressive war were over, there remained material for ill will between two unsympathetic peoples who differed in language, culture, and character. This was not diminished by the Persian Consular representatives—some of dubious status—at a dozen of the 'Iraq cities. The two Empires, devoted respectively to the Sunni and Shi'i faiths, were passing also through different stages of their evolution: Turkey struggling with modernism and western aspirations, Persia still medieval and uneasy with half-independent vassals in her midst. Reaction in its crudest forms was in the ascendant at Teheran since the accession in 1896 of the amiable spendthrift Mudhaffar al-Din Shah.

The frontier itself had proved a major irritant. Its line had been settled by nothing more stable than the fortunes of many wars and the fickle adherences of tribes. It cut through the featureless flatlands east of the lower Tigris and across the tumbled mountains of Kurdistan; it divided homogeneous peoples, often migratory and always incapable of loyalty to a distant throne. The 1847 Treaty of Erzerum had been followed by thirty years of conventions, commissions, and map-making, and by as many, in the last quarter of the century, of minor forays, counter-interventions, and angry protests. The close of the century found the Turks still claiming Persian-occupied towns and valleys—Urmiya, Wazna, Bana, Sardasht, Zuhab—and the Persians demanding the Gul'ambar Plain, the Hawraman Mountain, and lands near Khaniqin. These squabbles, which forbade all border tranquillity, were echoed in the extreme south by the pretensions of both to possess the shoals and islands of the Shaṭṭ. Turkish claims to Muḥammara had indeed by now been abandoned; but jealousies and reprisals on the Shaṭṭ offered a fertile field for piracy, which led in turn to British intervention, the threat of a British Consul at Fao, and the stationing of a gunboat on the river in 1898.

The great pilgrimages by Persians to Najf, Karbalā, Kadhimiya

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

4. 'IRAQ SOCIETY: THE TOWNS

During the span of a single lifetime, from 1830 to 1900, profound changes had come to pass in the urban society of 'Iraq. Most marked in the upper classes, but perceptible in the lower, they radiated from both outwards into a countryside still socially primeval.

Early in the nineteenth century 'Iraq town society had remained almost wholly isolated from Western influences. There was no acquaintance with the outside world. The tempo of life was that of earlier ages, traditional manners held the field, and life in every relationship was based on Islam. No restless progressiveness had appeared: the evils of the times were accepted by all with submissive fatalism. The impact of Western conceptions and activities upon this society was in the Levant gradual, in 'Iraq relatively sudden. Such ideas and phenomena came first to 'Iraq by way of the New Army which had, in a day, superseded Janissaries and Hayta bands: an army with Europeanized officers, soon followed by doctors, engineers, and the whole body of Westernized effendis. The senior officials, Turkish in speech and half-European in education, were accompanied by wives of Istanbul and children fresh from modern-fashioned schools. Posts and telegraphs, foreign trade and enterprise began to operate. The Christian and Jewish minorities, with their European leanings, continued to set a higher standard of education, aided by the missions which served them.

The cumulative effect of these influences had produced by 1900 an 'Iraqi urban society far removed from that of a lifetime earlier. Fed by the telegraph, an incipient press, and the resident foreigners, the talk amongst officials in the Saray, merchants and agents in the coffee-shop, notables in their diwans, could for the first time embrace wider interests. Literacy had become commoner, changes had appeared in domestic and social habit, European clothes were worn by an increasing minority, the tempo of life accelerated. The wealthy class increased in numbers as in possessions, and found fresh ways of spending. Social leadership was still on patriarchal or plutocratic lines; an intelligentsia scarcely existed; but among a widening circle the old acquiescence had begun to yield to dissatisfaction and questioning. An excessive confidence was felt in 'science' and modern knowledge, conceived always as a set of formulae with miraculous efficacy. Except where devotion to orthodox Islam and its endowments was a vested interest, there had been signs of diminished respect for that doctrine and for its professors; but this was still very far from a landslide to atheism, nor had the old standards of behaviour been yet abandoned even by the *évolués*.

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

The social development which these processes entailed represented no steady internal evolution, had been sought by no part of the population, and corresponded to no inventiveness of spirit. It had been imposed from without, partly by pressure of world discoveries such as steamship and telegraph, partly by the largely unintended impact of the West at many points, partly by Government action; and it had been accepted without discrimination. Ideas of doubtful value, glib catchwords from European politics, social observances strange to the East, had been welcomed because new, with little knowledge of their significance. There was no care for the true bases of European thought or virtue.

Meanwhile it was all too obvious that 'Iraq society, whatever the merits, the humanity or social gifts of its members, was afflicted by serious evils. The level of enlightenment was low by any standards, gross superstition was rife, women were treated as inferior beings. Security was uncertain even in the towns, thanks to unpunished crime and the survival of a bullying fanaticism directed, in bad times, at the minorities. Malnutrition was the lot of four-fifths of the population. The infant death rate was among the highest in the world. Many diseases were endemic because untreated, and combined to produce a race physically mediocre or inferior; such were malaria, sand-fly fever, bilharzia, hookworm, dysentery, typhoid, smallpox, the venereal diseases, and epidemic cholera. And dominating all lay the pervasive curse of poverty, removable only by fundamental changes in the whole territory's economy. A new spirit, new use of resources, almost a new race of men would be needed before this evil could be cured by a realization of the country's vast possibilities and by a new social attitude. 'Iraq in 1900 was a society of blighting shabbiness, low standards, and all the vices of the hungry and unsatisfied.

In appearance and amenities the 'Iraqi towns had by 1900 changed little for centuries. The same locally varying building materials, the same design of house, mosque, and bazaar, the same traditional ornamentation united the planless and crowded settlements of the nineteenth with those of the sixteenth century. Streets nowhere permitted the passage of wheeled traffic; huddled narrow lanes provided bare space for donkeys or porters to carry their loads. Only a few new buildings, and these of ancient pattern, varied the limits of the older towns or formed the new Basra suburb of 'Ashar or the 'Amara river front. Baghdad remained within its line of rubble heaps which had been walls, Mosul had spread the beginnings of a new quarter outside its narrower ring; the walls of Basra were in ruins, those of Kirkuk or Arbil barely remembered. The bazaars and warehouses, commercial heart of the townships, were guarded by watchmen–contractors whose

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

from a headquarters no longer distant, telegraph lines could be seen, postmen rode from town to town. A dozen new townships had been founded in the last decades of the century—Naṣiriya in the Muntafiq, 'Amara in the lower Tigris, Kut and Bughayla as river-steamer fuelling points, and new-built Khans with gendarme posts along the main routes. The control of the greater canal heads had become a Government function; more and more the local Governor became the invoked arbiter of tribal quarrels; and the Tapu land records with their registration of communal tribal lands as the private property of the Shaykhs had introduced a new and jarring relationship of landlord and tenant to mar that of chieftain and loyal follower.

Other and less obvious elements were at work to modify the old tribal isolation. Increased awareness of the outside world came with the visits of grain-buying merchants' agents, since the steamship had made bulk export possible. The effects of shipping itself radiated inland from Baṣra and from the Tigris steamboats. European manufactured goods penetrated into every tribe; and the buyers, the effendis, the *Zaptié* and the city populace whom a tribesman might rarely visit, were themselves reflectors, in their kind and degree, of a faint light of Western innovation in the world of speech, ideas, and comparisons. Few of the foreign travellers of the 'nineties failed to comment on the social progress of the last quarter-century and on the greater penetration by Government of the outlying regions.

The Dhafir in the south-western desert, astride the route into Najd, lived on bad terms with ibn Rashid and raided the Muṭayr and 'Aniza. The 'Aniza, greatest of nomadic groups of northern Arabia, held the Shamiya desert from Najf to Hit. Their chief, ibn Hadhdhal, titular Qa'immaqam of Razaza, now courted and now imprisoned by the Turks, pursued his ancient feuds with the Shammar, and flouted the Government. The Dulaym were by 1900 largely settled and in part disciplined by the chain of police posts along the Aleppo road.

The Shammar had long passed their great days of formidable unity. Intermittently at war with an outstanding personality of the time, Ibrahim Pasha of the Milli Kurds—bandit, patriarch, general of Ḥamidiya, protégé of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamid—they were bitterly divided by factions among the sons of Farḥan Pasha, and could play off the authority of Mosul against Dayr al-Zur, loot the river traffic, withhold their taxes, and alternately court and reject the favours of Government.

On the lower Euphrates the power of the Sa'dun overlords over a complex of Shi'i tribes was in division and decline. For a generation two separate schools of leadership had appeared: the attempt

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

unaltered in the influence still wielded by many shaykhs in their tribes, the continued possibility of 'tribal outbreaks', the persisting backwardness of the ignorant and credulous tribal mind, and the sadly low living standards of the apathetic poor with their malnutrition, disease, and brevity of life. Yet, and not least in the twenty years since Independence, there had been change in directions which may, to summarize them, be treated as fourfold. The first was economic; thanks to better irrigation control, more State and private assistance in agriculture, and better communications, there had been progress, however humble and precarious, towards security of livelihood. The second change was psychological; it was shown by the partial expansion of the tribal mind to include some part of the interests of an outside world now brought within reach by easier travel, livelier commerce, the spread of Government's social services, wireless receiving-sets, and the increased use of Western fabrics and utensils: every new survey, census, police inquiry, telegraph line, or canal alignment was a step away from the old tribal seclusion. The third element of change lay in the penetration of the countryside by State forces now, as never before, mobile, well equipped, and ubiquitous; using communications inconceivable before, they could in a day anticipate and disperse the disobedient in the remotest areas. The tribes were in fact now, for the first time and for ever, militarily helpless. Finally, detribalization itself had made further steps in that inevitable progress which, in 'Iraq as in Scotland, must no doubt end by reducing the tribes or clans as such to mere picturesque survivals evocative of nostalgic pride. By 1950 greater approximation to the non-tribal public had offered interests and loyalties which could compete with those of the old tribal nucleus: stability of residence, safety from raids, and Government ubiquity gave less and less place for leadership on the old lines, and the new economics of agriculture had in many cases substituted a contrary grouping and new allegiances. The shaykhs, no longer appointed or recognized by the State, were often themselves deputies or haunters of Ministries, lived largely in Baghdad or their local liwā headquarters, and had departed far from tribal austerity in their addiction to city pleasures, while their sons could go, and went, to higher studies and Western sophistication at Beirut, Cambridge, or Columbia. The picture of the 'Iraqi tribal world in 1950 is, indeed, that of an early but not the earliest stage of an uneasy, perhaps unhappy, transition from an archaic, remote, and static condition towards the civilization—itself transitional and unformed—of the country at large and of its cities. The coalescence of tribal and tribeless folk had well begun; and, whatever were its continued backwardnesses, 'Iraq in 1950 could for the first time expect from its tribal groups not, as of

1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

power station at Baghdad was the property of a British company, that of Basra belonged to the Port, while Kirkuk was supplied with current by its all-providing oil company.

The revised labour legislation of 1942, the activity of the Ministry of Social Affairs, interest in International Labour Office literature and standards, and the employment since 1949 of a British expert on labour questions were guarantees that, though part of the Code was not applied, progress was real towards an effective interest in urban labour conditions and safeguards; it extended to trade union organization, the establishment of Labour Exchanges, housing schemes and welfare, and plans for social security whose realization was delayed only by their high cost. Meanwhile limited welfare facilities—dispensaries, canteens, clubs, sports grounds—were offered voluntarily by a few employers such as the Port, the Railways, and the more considerable industrial companies. They were provided on a much larger scale, and as part of a comprehensive organization, by the oil companies.

In domestic living standards, if it was true that the modernization and Westernization of the urban middle and lower-middle classes still left 'the poor' little better provided in their own homes than fifty years earlier, yet the proportion of households able to rise above their old deficiencies had much increased, and the private life of the middle as of the upper classes showed that in their domestic equipment and housing, hygiene, clothes, and range of interests great changes had been somehow effected in the last two generations. In men's and women's clothing, in the appearance and conduct of households, the serving of meals, and more generally in family and social life, Western ways had gained much ground. Resistance to the emancipation of women was now narrowing; the Muslim veil was frequently discarded; women learned and taught, entered the professions of medicine and law, followed politics (including Communism), took part in social work, and through their Women's Society were heard to demand the franchise. Circles, however, where women were strictly secluded were still considerable, and included the households of many leading notables and the royal family itself.

Social life was diversified by increased visiting between families, by the cinematograph, by cabarets of both Oriental and Western type, by casinos and modernized cafés. The traditional coffee shop kept its place for the male members of all classes and, within the social grade for which each catered, was still the club and business centre of thousands. Club life had developed to include the exclusive social clubs of the rich, the middle-class professional clubs of the lawyers, Army officers, and officials of various branches of Government, and a dozen sporting clubs; but the

3: Clark S-5 (1950) 1951 MH1 Iraq MH1

872 876 promotion, is indicated by the following extract from a teacher's introduction to the first issue of a primary school magazine:

'Our Magazine.
Dear Pupils,
This is the first number of our school magazine. I want every pupil to read it very carefully because it is for you, not for the teacher.
Please read this paper carefully and ask me any question about it. If you do as I say, you will succeed in the examination.
Your Teacher,
Signed .....'

874 654 *The Agricultural Primary Schools.* The need for realistic village schools in Iraq has been advocated in the Report of the Monroe Commission and elsewhere. They have taken a long time to materialize, but there are now signs of progress.

In 1948 the Ministry of Education requested the Provincial Directors of Education to establish an experimental primary school in each province. One such school has since been provided in most of the provinces, not as an entirely new project but as an extension of an existing primary school. Several acres of land have been attached to these schools and some of them keep a limited amount of livestock. Some have modest dairy equipment, a stock of hand tools for the pupils and an agricultural machine such as a power-driven cultivator. One or two have a tractor. In the irrigation districts some possess their own water pump.

Unfortunately these schools were established during a period of retrenchment, and although the Ministry of Education launched this important experiment it was apparently unable to provide the money for other essential buildings and equipment such as handicraft shops, simple laboratories and materials for experiment. It was also unable to provide every such school with a teacher acquainted with the basic practice and principles of farming. Despite these initial handicaps, some of the agricultural primary schools have started courageously and have attempted to free themselves from a purely academic curriculum. In certain of the schools, apart from teaching methods of normal cultivation, experiments are being made in the growth of crops hitherto unfamiliar to the local economy. Indeed one teacher claims that, through his introduction of American cotton on to the school farm, the local landowner has since grown this crop on a large scale and has made a substantial profit from it. If this is so, it certainly illustrates the extra-mural influence of a village school which adjusts its curriculum to real life situations.

[177]

6:Ireland S-5 (no date)1937 MHI Iraq MHI

of criminal justice in British India shall have effect as if the Occupied Territories were a district in the Presidency of Bombay'. This section, taken with the Code as a whole, tends to confirm the impression that valid as were some of the reasons advanced at the time for the introduction of the new legal system, the most cogent reason was the underlying desire to pave the way for the painless absorption of lower Mesopotamia to India.

The belief, apparently held at this time, that the Indian system introduced by the Code was no more foreign to Turkish Arabia than the Turkish system which it replaced,[1] and that therefore the change was acceptable, seems scarcely in accordance with the facts. As Sir Edgar Bonham-Carter, head of the Judicial system in Mesopotamia, 1917-21, has pointed out:

> The present organization of these Courts and the Codes (of the Turks) have been in force for more than a generation, and indeed some of the Codes date back to a much earlier date. The people are accustomed to them, and are accustomed to regulate their transactions by them. This is especially true of the Baghdad mercantile community ... Lawyers and Government officials have been trained in the procedure of the Courts and use of the Codes.[2]

The same statement could hardly be made concerning the Indian Laws, none of which were available either in Arabic or in Turkish when introduced. Even the Code was not translated into Arabic for some time following its introduction. Only four of the several score of Indian Laws had been translated into Arabic at the end of 1917, a fact which called forth a protest from the retiring Senior Judicial Officer, Lieut.-Colonel S. G. Knox.[3] With the introduction of the Code, Arabic became the official language in the Courts, a measure popular to the people. Its use, however, was not entirely new. A circular from

[1] Wilson, Sir A. T., op. cit., p. 68.

[2] *Report on the Admin. of Justice, Baghdad*, 1917, in *Admin. Report, Baghdad*, 1917, p. 184.

[3] *Review of the Reports of the Administration of Basrah Wilayet from April to December*, 1917 (Calcutta, 1918), (hereafter *Admin. Rep., Basrah*, 1917): *Report on the Admin. of Justice*, 1917, p. 108.

6:Ireland S-5 (no date)1937 MHI Iraq MHI

department, no administrative order in the Ministry being given by a British official after 1923.[1] The responsibility for the educational system thus has been largely 'Iraqī, in spite of the inclination both of 'Iraqī officials and of American educationalists to lay the blame for its deficiencies at the feet of the British officials. Indeed, more influence of foreign origin has been exerted on the educational system by 'Iraqī students returning from American and English schools and Universities than by the British officials of the Ministry.

No government department has been a greater source of optimism for the continued development of 'Iraq, both to 'Iraqī and to foreign observers, than has Education. No other department can point to budget appropriations which have steadily increased from 1921, the amount assigned in 1932 to Education being more than double the sum in 1921.[2] No other Ministry can show such concrete and progressively achieved results. The number of primary schools for boys has increased from 124 in 1921 to 247 in 1930, the enrolment increasing from 12,226 to 24,885. In the same period, girls' schools have increased from 27 to 44, with an increase in enrolment from 3849 to 6003. During this period, secondary and intermediate schools have grown from four, with an estimated attendance of

[1] *Progress of 'Iraq*, p. 224.

[2] A summary of the expenditures of the Ministry of Education, 1921-32) in lacs of rupees) is as follows:

Year	*Expenditure*	*Percentage of Budget to total expenditure*
1921–22	19·36	3·3
1922–23	19·94	4·1
1923–24	18·15	4·0
1924–25	22·13	4·59
1925–26	23·48	4·43
1926–27	26·93*	5·2
1927–28	27·42	4·74
1928–29	32·01	5·33
1929–30	37·18	6·42
1930–31	38·41	7·5
1931–32	39·98	7·9

* The budget of the Antiquities Department and of the Engineering School was added to the Budget in this year and in subsequent years.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Iraq MH1

463 each kind of goods has its special section of the bazaar.
565 The brass- and copper-smiths' quarter rings like a small
441 boiler factory all day long. The artisans who are engaged in producing these commodities form a considerable section of the Mesopotamian city population and are fairly prosperous and contented, much more so than the date gardeners of the outside districts. Supreme over them all stands the Mesopotamian silver worker, whose antimony silver work can scarcely be duplicated anywhere in the world.

463 The professional classes in these Mesopotamian cities
871 are fairly well developed. There are teachers of every
794 sort. Some of them have been trained abroad, but many
177 are indigenous and a very great credit to the schools that
● have turned them out. There are a number of government schools, and in addition the different religious sects maintain schools of their own. In these days when western education is in great demand, the schools of the Jews and the Christians are patronized by an increasing number of Mohammedans. No local medical profession nas
463 been developed as yet, but the wealth and the culture of
797 Mosul, Baghdad and Basra have attracted a considerable number of trained physicians from outside. We have therefore the beginnings of a medical profession, and although it is not yet indigenous, it will soon become so. Its ethics are not of a very high order; the campaign of the American College of Surgeons to abolish fee-splitting would not make much headway among Mesopotamian doctors, but time will develop ethical standards, and at the worst the profession is a long way in advance
463 of the quacks that infest Arabia proper. There is also a
693 well-established group of lawyers. One of the results of the governing of the country for hundreds of years by

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 MJ Middle East
/Iraq MH1

161 As far as population is concerned, the great cities are only a small fraction of Mesopotamia, for the last census gives the population of the entire country as 2,849,282, and that of the three cities of Basra, Baghdad and Mosul combined is probably not much over 350,000.

177 Much of the material advance in these Mesopotamian cities is, of course, an indirect outcome of the Great War. Few countries anywhere were more affected by the changes that the war brought in its wake. It is impossible to hazard a guess as to the ultimate effect of the last ten years' catastrophic happenings in Mesopotamia. Western civilization in its strong and unfortunately too often in its bad aspects has poured in on that country like a flood. Whether the various campaigns of the war and the whole influence of the English occupation, benevolent and efficient as it is, have resulted in genuine progress is difficult to say. Under the Turks, who had governed the three *vilayets,* or districts, of Basra, Baghdad and Mosul for hundreds of years as a part of the Turkish empire, the original Arab system of government had been changed very considerably. Since the war that change has been carried much farther by the British Government. In general terms, Mesopotamia was administered by Great Britian under a mandate at first, and later in 1921 a constitutional monarchy was created with an Arab ruler, Feisul, son of King Husein of Hejaz, on the throne. Religious liberty was guaranteed by the Constitution adopted at that time. A modern parliamentary government was set up, with more or less the same organization, codified law and court procedure that we are used to at home. It is open to question whether this is in accordance with the genius of the Arab race or whether it is not imposing an alien system on the coun-

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Iraq MH1

try rather than fostering the development of something indigenous and natural. Under such a system the enforcement of law may become of necessity very mechanical, as when an Indian Sepoy nearly knocks down an inoffensive Arab pedestrian by a blow with his fist for no greater crime than walking on the wrong side of the road to avoid a mud puddle. In the courts, too, a crowd of lawyers and an abundance of red tape, with venal underlings, may serve to make the paths of justice tortuous and uncertain in spite of the best intentions on the part of the presiding judge.

Nevertheless, even under such handicaps as those we have indicated, there is no questioning the very great material progress that is to be seen in Mesopotamia. Even before the war one of Baghdad's streets was paved, and since the British have taken over the administration of the kingdom, all sorts of improvements have been introduced. The railroad system of the country now extends 360 miles from Basra to Baghdad and from there on nearly to Mosul. There are several subsidiary lines, the total amounting to over 1000 miles. By far the greater part of this mileage was constructed by the British for war purposes. Under British rule, also, the Hindiya Barrage and other less important irrigation works have been kept in order and improved and extensive harbor improvements at Basra undertaken.

British sanitary and health officers have been appointed for Mesopotamia and no praise is too high for their largely unappreciated but nevertheless unselfish and extremely efficient labors in that country. The hospital work that has been undertaken in Basra, Baghdad and Amara, the inspection of eating houses, and the maintaining of sanitary conditions have been excellently done.

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Iraq MH1

Unfortunately the fact that this work is practical benevolence of the finest sort and carried on in the finest spirit has not served to commend sanitary regulations to the Arab, who regards them as a nuisance, a hindrance to business and an infringement of his personal liberty.

Mesopotamia has also grappled with the whole problem of education most courageously. An educational system has been organized which includes normal schools for teachers and a large number of primary and secondary schools for both boys and girls. There are a smaller number of high schools, and a central university is planned. Fifteen years ago the dominant European influence in this community was French, and no one could claim to be educated who could not talk that language fluently. There was a marked change a little later, and before the Great War German was the commanding influence. Now, of course, the predominant western influence is English, and it seems likely to remain so, for commerce will probably talk the English language for many years, whatever political upheavals the country may be destined to experience. It is true that the educational system has not as yet taken very deep root and that much of the work done is very superficial, but it is none the less exceedingly creditable and encouraging. Moreover, this western system of education will probably be more or less permanent, for it will always be the gateway to remunerative positions.

In general, the people of Mesopotamia have been brought into contact with conditions of modern life and are anxious for further progress. New wants have been created, and a certain increase in the commerce of the country is the inevitable result. All manner of western dress goods and shoes are to be found in the bazaars, as

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Iraq MH1

well as many western food products, such as candies and fancy crackers. The country is lighted by kerosene oil, much of which comes from America. Numbers of automobiles are to be seen, and in some places even electric lights. All these things represent the gratification of wants that did not exist previous to the entrance of western influence.

There has also been a development of the export trade of the country. However, the articles for export are not many nor of great amount. Dates are the principal product, together with a certain amount of wheat and rice and some hides and wool. In the long run, of course, no more can be brought into the country than is sent out of it, and the trade of Mesopotamia cannot increase to any great figure until her own natural resources are developed.

Just how far these various modern improvements will go remains to be seen. If the British continue in power, there is no doubt that material development will be steady and sound. If they evacuate the country and leave it to an independent local government, progress will be much slower, to say the least. During the war wages went up to fabulous heights, and although prices of food and rent advanced even more, there is no doubt that the sum total of the war's influence was to raise the standard of living in the cities and to stimulate enormously the desire for many western products and for western education. Just now there has been a very sharp reaction; times are hard, work is scarce, wages are poor. Everything western is discounted, and the cry is for an independent national development with the elimination of every foreign influence. The common people long for the golden days of the Turks, forgetting with a completeness quite as-

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
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tonishing the nature of those golden days, now only ten years and less in the past.

The fundamental difficulty is that the new régime, with all its virtues, is essentially an alien system imposed upon the country from without by virtue of superior military power. Thus it shares the unpopularity of alien systems the world over. The opposition to the present ruler and his British advisers is not simply the frothing of irresponsible and ambitious nationalist agitators. It is all that, but there is something far more significant underneath. I was once entertained for an afternoon by a rabid nationalist of Mesopotamia who attempted to show that the system of education introduced by the British was inferior in curriculum and in number of students to the pre-war system of the Turks, which proposition was about as reasonable as that two and two make twenty. But it would have been a great mistake to conclude that the man was primarily concerned to vindicate the Turks. He was not even primarily concerned over the educational system of Mesopotamia. Nor was he simply a fool. The thing that troubled him was the fact that his country was ruled by aliens. The tremendous following that such men have is not due to any outstanding ability they possess and still less to any profound insight into the various problems of the day, but rather to the fact that the average Arab, the man in the street in Mesopotamia, also resents that alien domination very intensely. It is hard for the unimaginative Westerner to realize that what the Arab wants is not efficient government or even good government. What he wants is self-government.

On the whole, in spite of many encouraging signs of progress, a more intimate acquaintance with affairs in

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
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185 177 Mesopotamia distinctly dampens enthusiasm. It appears gravely doubtful whether we are on the road of progress at all—whether, in fact, we are not on a road with a very different ending. The sanitary and educational systems are both of them expensive, and it is doubtful if either can be continued now that Great Britain is no longer willing to spend large sums of money on the country. The railroads have hardly been brought to the point of self-support, and the harbor facilities of Basra, which were constructed to meet war needs, are ludicrously excessive. The local administrators now are at their wits' end to find funds sufficient to maintain them. All work on the irrigation system is at a standstill for the same reason. The whole government structure is a showy shell, vastly more expensive than can be properly shouldered by such a country. Its alien character makes this expense inevitable. The rulers who come from Great Britain demand salaries which are enormous judged by local standards, and much the same exaggerated scale of remuneration prevails throughout their staff of indigenous assistants. Creating a government that shall be modern enough to foster progress and at the same time cheap enough to sit lightly upon the community and be at least tolerable if not popular, constitutes a problem which is by no means solved.

44:Matthews and Akrawi S, G-3 (1945-1946)1949 MI Middle East
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irrigation, railways, roads, and economics; the fourth, strength of materials, theory of structures, hydraulics, surveying, municipal engineering (water supply and sewage disposal), estimating (specifications and contracts), engineering law, and design (structures, irrigation works, and buildings). Lectures and practical work total from twenty-eight to thirty-two hours per week. This curriculum will be expanded when specialization in mechanical and electrical engineering is added.

No tuition or boarding fees are charged, but students sign a contract to work for a period of five years after graduation in the Department of Public Works. During this period of employment they are paid on the same scale as other government officials with similar preparation and experience.

Educational Missions

It was in 1921, just after the foundation of the national government and the accession of King Faysal I to the throne of Iraq, that the Ministry of Education proposed sending qualified students abroad to study. That year nine of the brighter boys were picked from the secondary schools, six of whom were sent to the American University of Beirut in Lebanon and three to England. Of these, two were to study medicine in England, one was later to study agriculture in the United States, and six were to prepare for high-school teaching. From the first, the idea of educational missions was to train specialists to meet Iraq's needs in the fields of health, education, and agriculture.

Needs multiplied until foreign educational missions were projected in no less than forty-six of the most diverse subjects. These included various sciences and subjects necessary to teaching, such as physics, chemistry, biology, mathematics, history, geography, Arabic, and English. Students were sent to study education, psychology, and kindergarten methods, chiefly in America. Agriculture was studied almost entirely in America. Students went abroad to study all types of engineering, surveying, architecture, the social sciences, modern business practice, astronomy, geology, meteorology, and law. The establishment of the Royal College of Medicine at Baghdad in 1927 almost stopped the movement of medical students to foreign universities, except for graduate study, but they continued to go abroad to study dentistry and veterinary science. They went on missions to study technical trades, archeology, Islamic art, physical education, printing, library science, and home economics. For the study of painting, sculpture, and music they were sent principally to France and Italy.

As the fields to be studied on mission became more numerous, so did the

44:Matthews and Akrawi S, G-3 (1945-1946) 1949 MI Middle East
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number of students sent. The number of students supported wholly or almost wholly by the government rose from 9 in 1921 to 93 in 1928–29 and reached the peak figure of 238 in 1939–40. It declined because of World War II to 114 in 1943–44, but began to increase in 1945. Altogether more than 700 students have been sent abroad for study in the last quarter-century. The number of students who studied abroad at their own expense is at least as large.

Missions have been sent to eleven different countries, Lebanon receiving the most because of the popularity of the American University of Beirut. This University has not only prepared a large number of teachers for the Iraqi secondary schools; it has also served as a station for students going to America, to improve their English and prepare them for advanced study in the United States. After Lebanon, England receives the most, then Egypt, and in order, the United States, Switzerland, France, Germany, Sweden, Turkey, Italy, and India. World War II limited the missions for the most part to Lebanon and Egypt.

The first mission students returned to Iraq in 1926 and were absorbed by the secondary schools and the Primary Teachers College. Since then hundreds of students have returned. Most of them and most of the students who studied abroad at their own expense have gone into government posts where they are helping to fill a great need. At least 4 have attained cabinet rank, while many have become directors general of various departments and members of Parliament. The largest number have gone into teaching or administrative posts in the Ministry of Education. The next largest group are in technical posts in engineering or agriculture. Others are scattered throughout the ministries, having begun their careers as teachers and transferred from the Ministry of Education.

The budget for educational missions began in a modest way in 1921 and reached its highest peak of 62,000 dinars ($248,000) in 1938–39. It declined to 45,000 dinars ($180,000) in the war years, but is now expected to be increased. For a full-scholarship student the government pays nearly all his necessary expenses, including tuition fees, travel expenses to and from his place of study, an adequate monthly allowance for living expenses—varying from country to country—and an allowance for books and medical care. Any major medical treatment or surgery is also paid for by the government. A former government official sent on a mission receives, in addition to these benefits, one-third of his former salary to help support his family. In return for all this, the student signs a contract which commits him to serve the government one year for each year of study. In case of default or of failure to complete his studies, he must

44:Matthews and Akrawi S, G-3 (1945-1946)1949 MI Middle East
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658 reimburse the government for all expenditure in his behalf. This system
•177 allows many a bright but impoverished student to achieve a kind of education and career that unaided he could never have had.

Regulations govern the selection of students and other aspects of this program. The latest revision of the regulations was in 1942, and, according to these, a student to be eligible must be at least a secondary-school graduate with an average of no less than 66 in the public examination and of no less than 75 percent in the subject of his specialization; he must pass a medical examination and be interviewed by the selection committee, which looks into his credentials and into a confidential report from his former school principal. To qualify for postgraduate study abroad, a student must have attained first- or second-class honors in his undergraduate course.

The Council of Ministers determines the number of students to be sent every year and the fields to be studied, basing the decisions on statements of the various ministries and departments concerning their needs. With the growth of the various colleges in Iraq, more emphasis is being placed upon postgraduate study to prepare advanced specialists. In undergraduate work there is a good deal of concentration on the various branches of engineering and technology.

65:Landshut S-4 (no date)1950 M1 Middle East
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difficult to make even an approximate estimate of how many Jews live in these villages—perhaps 5,000-6,000 at most. They have remained relatively untouched by the events of the past few years, which have had such a revolutionary effect on the rest of the Jewish community.

The total Jewish population of Iraq is estimated at 120,000. Although this figure may be out of date, it is probably not far wrong, if allowance is made for emigration, on the one hand, and increase in the birthrate, on the other. Of these, between 90,000 and 100,000 live in Baghdad. But neither is it the larger number of Jews in the country as a whole nor their concentration in the capital which accounts for the difference of their position, at least in the past, from that of their coreligionists in Egypt.

Most important is the fact that Western influence on Iraqi Jews, being no stronger than it was on the town-bred Muslims, was much weaker in Iraq than in Egypt. Middle-class Jews in Iraq took to European dress at about the same time as the Muslims. Likewise, in their daily habits, their houses, and, last but not least, in their language, there was no marked difference between the two communities. Arabic has always been, and still is to-day, the mother-tongue of both Jew and Muslim.

True, as a result of the higher educational facilities provided by the activities of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* and the Anglo-Jewish Association, knowledge of French or English is more common among the Jews than the Muslims. But this difference has never been sufficient to detract from the central fact that Western influence on the Jews has not been much stronger than on other Iraqi communities. All this is in strong contrast to the situation in Egypt and—again unlike Egypt—there has been no noticeable immigration of Jews from European countries.

During the nineteenth century the Jewish community in Iraq was fairly prosperous; and freedom to develop was assisted to no small degree by the two proclamations issued by the Sultan of Turkey in 1839 and 1856. At that time there was already a considerable number of well-to-do families. The schools of the *Alliance* helped to raise the community's educational standard. When the first Chamber of Deputies was opened in Istanbul in 1876, it included a representative of the Iraqi Jews (Menahem Danyiel) and, later, after the Constitution of 1900, the community was represented by Hezkiel Sassoon, a retired senior Ottoman Government official.

During the First World War, however, the Jewish community suffered great hardships at the hands of Turkish governors. Just prior to the fall of Baghdad in 1917, some of its leading members suffered death, torture, and imprisonment.

When, therefore, the Arabs rose against the Turks and made common cause with the Allies, the Jews regarded the fight for liberation as their own. They welcomed the establishment of the new Iraq under British Mandate, and many immediately offered their